PROFILE OF AVERELL HARRIMAN: THE COLDEST WARRIOR OF ALL . . . See p. 4

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
Vol. 8, No. 5 NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 21, 1955

WAR & PEACE

Big 3's 'bubble diplomacy' punctured on German issue, Far East and UN members

By Tabitha Petran

AT THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED Geneva Conference, and at the UN Assembly's current session, the sterile rigidity of Western policy and its remoteness from 1955's realities have been underscored anew. On every key issue—China, Korea, Germany, disarmament—the West appears more than ever determined to block new approaches, while its protagonists frantically try to pump new life into the illusions of "the policy of strength."

Tenacious as they are, however, these illusions are slowly giving way before objective realities. The Western effort to keep them alive is alienating an increasing portion of the world.

One of the most tenacious illusions is the theory that the U. S. S. R. can be forced by Western "positions of strength" (i.e. war or threat of war) to agree to German unification on Western terms. Since the "strength" has already proved illusory, this policy took the form at Geneva of a pretense that the U. S. S. R. would trade E. Germany for what Joseph C. Harsch called (**Christian Science Monitor**, 11/10) "a piece of paper guaranteeing Soviet security from German attack." Soviet refusal to strike such a "bargain" became the pretext of extravagant Western "surprise," "anger," "dismay," followed by equally extravagant claims that the West was winning the "propaganda battle."

BUBBLE DIPLOMACY: The evidence was to the contrary. Paris' **Le Monde** termed the Western stand on Germany ". . . not in accord with reality. Like the Socrates of Aristophanes, Messrs. Dulles, Macmillan and Pinay are balanced in a cradle suspended from the clouds. Their diplomatic edifice has just about as much solidity as a soap bubble."

London's **News Chronicle** (11/9) point-

(Continued on Page 8)

BARGAIN GIFTS
FOR THE
HOLIDAY SEASON
OFFERED BY THE
Guardian Buying Service
SEE PAGES 6-7

THE WOMEN OF SUNAKAWA SIT DOWN OUTSIDE THE TACHIKAWA AIR BASE

THE SUNAKAWA STORY

Japanese protest U.S. military bases

A FEW YEARS back a film was made in the German Democratic Republic called the **Condemned Village.** It was the story of how the people of a West German village scheduled for demolition to make way for a U.S. air base, mobilized all their forces and finally, with the help of fellow workers in the towns, defeated the threat.

The story was based on fact, and now from Japan comes news of almost the same struggle. It has been pieced together from the U.S. press and from a letter sent by one of the participants to the **Monthly Review.**

Sunakawa is a small town a few miles outside Tokyo. For months its people watched with anxiety the gradual expansion of the Tachikawa base which came ever nearer to their homes. Then, in August, came the announcement from the Japanese government that the base was to be expanded to take over the land of some thousand peasants in the area, together with their houses and other buildings.

PICKET THE TOWN: Aug. 24 was set as the date for a survey, the first step towards seizure. On that date the people went into action. From early morning they sat down in front of the homes holding up slogans declaring their refusal to be expelled. Hundreds of workers from Tokyo formed a picket line around the town. Several times the officials making the survey were forced to give up. The mayor, openly on the side of the people, ordered the firemen to sound the alarm every time surveyors or police tried to come in.

The battle ebbed and flowed all day until, at dusk, armed police brought the surveyors in. By then it was too late and the surveyors withdrew.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN: The next attack came Sept. 15 and, according to the N. Y. **Times**, the villagers resisted violently for two days. Finally, the mayor of Sunakawa and the mayor of Tokyo agreed that the villagers would be adequately compensated for their land. But that was not the end. Two days later, the **Times** reported, 3,000 Tokyo trade unionists assisted the peasants and townspeople in their struggle. The correspondent adds:

"Numerous campaigns against the expansion of U. S. bases in Japan are being co-ordinated on a national basis."

The struggle of the peace forces in Japan is one of the most hopeful factors in the Far Eastern picture. Japan was scheduled as a major ally of those who sought war against the Chinese Peoples' Republic; but the Japanese people have suffered too much to allow themselves to be led into a second disaster.

Their massive campaign against atomic weapons has already had a profound effect. The evidence that they will resist further efforts to turn their country into a war base is of immeasurable value, for it strengthens the hands of those who seek peace not only in their own country, but in the U. S. and other countries as well.

HE FACES TWO YEARS IN PRISON

High court refuses to review conviction of Moy, editor of 'China Daily News'

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT last week refused to review the conviction of Eugene Moy, editor of the **China Daily News** and two of the paper's stockholders. Moy now faces two years in prison, each of the stockholders one year and the paper a fine of $25,000—all for publishing advertisements from two Hong Kong banks.

The charge for which the three were tried in 1954 was that the newspaper, published in New York, granted a credit of $150 and actually was paid $180 for advertisements from the banks offering to transmit money from overseas Chinese to their families in China.

DANGEROUS IDEAS: Although attorney Paul Ross in his defense pointed out that we were not at war with China, the government prosecuted the three under the Trading With The Enemy Act. District Judge Sylvester J. Ryan who heard the original trial said plainly that he was considering the paper's anti-Chiang Kai-shek editorial policy because "ideas are often motives that prompt evil acts."

The **China Daily News**, only Chinese-language paper in the Western hemisphere to support the Chinese People's Republic, was long under vigorous attack from pro-Chiang elements in New York. Advertisers were threatened, it was driven off newsstands by thugs who intimidated dealers, its vendors were assaulted. The legal action came as the final assault. Nevertheless, the readers have maintained their subscriptions and last week editor Moy said the paper will continue even if its editor goes to jail.

THE REASON: When the original sentence was handed down by Judge Ryan, Moy declared:

"It is only because our newspaper's policy differs from the policy of certain other Chinese-language newspapers, and because we sometimes disagree with the present foreign policy of the Administration, that the government agencies began to prosecute us in 1951. . . . I made no profit out of the advertisement; we handled no remittances; we merely performed the customary function of a newspaper; we published ads. . . ."

When the case was appealed to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge Charles E. Clark upheld the verdict but said the sentence "may appear to be too heavy."

Last week attorney Ross said he would appear before Judge Ryan on Nov. 16 to argue for a reduction of sentence.

DON'T BE BACKWARD!

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THE MAIL BAG

The 1956 election

DES MOINES, IA.

Congratulations to Elmer Bendiner for a superb job of writing in the Oct. 31 issue of the GUARDIAN. That analysis of the "moderate flavored candidate" was accurate and timely. The other candidates should now have a rough idea of what to expect when their turn comes.

Stevenson's pandering after the votes of the Dixiecrats is even worse than his straddling on the farm issue. My guess is that the farmers will be wanting something stronger than a "moderate flavored" man next year regardless of whether the flavoring is artificial or real.

In a letter received from Dr. Sackley of Chicago today, he includes a bit of doggerel that seems to fit the situation:

He claims he is a democrat,
And all of us, his betters,
Are willing to concede him that—
Except the first five letters.

The GUARDIAN is doing a wonderful job all around. **Fred Stover**

No anti-war candidates

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Timely and thoughtful was your decision to have Elmer Bendiner write a series of articles about the public careers of aspirants for the Presidential nomination.

Leaving Eisenhower completely out of the picture it is difficult to say now which one of the most talked-about men is the one the country deserves to have as its President after 1956. Not one of them gives any sign of possessing the great wisdom and qualities of forward-looking statesmanship the present stage of global social change requires.

I wish to call your attention to the list of 20 leading issues the Democratic Natl. Comm. sent out to county and district leaders on the most exploitable political issues. Civil rights, public education, rising cost of living were given 18th, 19th and 20th places respectively. Public housing was entirely omitted. Military might was accorded two places. **A. Garcia Diaz**

Dark horses

TUCSON, ARIZ.

I offer the names of several prominent Americans worthy of support by American progressives for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency in 1956: Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, Sens. William Langer (R-N.D.) and Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.), Reps. Roy Wier (D-Minn.) and Eberharder (D-Pa.), Judge Hubert Delany, NAACP officials Roy Wilkins and Thurgood Marshall, Robert Maynard Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic, Profs. Harold Urey and Linus Pauling.

Clyde R. Appleton

From Alex Wright

LONDONBRIDGE, VA.

I meant to write you and tell you not to make an appeal for funds for me. The insurance and my children took care of expenses. The Poritzes (Mailbag, Nov. 7) were very close to me and knew about my financial condition, but they didn't know my childrens' financial status, so they were frighteed. I do appreciate their efforts. Anyone having anything to donate, tell them that my wish is that they donate it to the struggle. I was born with nothing, lived on a little and expect less. **Alexander Wright**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Mississippi is proud that she can lay claim to the title of "The Hospitality State." The idea of a "hospitality month" and statewide hospitality program originated in 1948. It has grown until now about 80 communities participate. Each has a hospitality booth . . . .

Soft drinks, cookies and tasty snacks play an important part. At Tupelo, for example, motorists entering the town are directed to the hospitality booth where hostesses serve favorite soft beverages. At Magee, box lunches are provided for tourists, while Forest has its "Tea for Tourists."

—"Helping Build Mississippi," published by Mississippi Power & Light Co., Jackson. Reprinted in October Ford Engineering.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: S. Rosen, Detroit, Mich.

What's in a name?

ALTADENA, CALIF.

I believe with Hugh Weston that it is time for a socialist party. If too many of the people might tend to link that name up with what communism is supposed to be, why not a social-democratic party—over the head of whatever that title has meant in some lands — as giving it a name with some real direction that may help the trade unions to move to the Left.

As M. E. Murphy points out in the Mailbag, the New Deal was not brought into being by supporting the Democratic Party, but by challenging that party. It appears that an extensive long-range program is what is most needed now, in advance, as a nucleus from which better to organize, when the people as a whole become better aroused. **Howard Koehl**

Good question

SMITHTOWN, L. I.

The stimulus for this letter was one that appeared from Robert Claiborne crediting Ed Murrow and others, rather than American progressives, as "architects of the real and welcome changes in American life." Is it possible that the banishment of a man like Cedric Belfrage was not news to Ed Murrow? What would be the effect of a See-It-Now on what was being done to our editor—or one of those Person-to-Person affairs—one that might bring a bit of wisdom to American homes? **Al Rotundi**

Degree for Castillo

MEXICO, D. F.

Herewith are excerpts of a letter I sent Oct. 30 to the President of Columbia University, Dr. Grayson Kirk:

"I was a student at Columbia in the early thirties and taught there briefly before the war. . . . Since 1948 I have been living in Mexico. Yesterday I read a note in the local press stating that you were going to confer an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon the President of Guatemala, Carlos Castillo Armas. Perhaps, having lived so long outside my own country and in Latin America, I have become aware of and sensitive to implications of events to which you may not give close attention. I cannot believe that you are aware of what petty Latin American dictators are like, or you could not possibly lend yourself to honoring one of them. (If you have any doubts as to the justification of qualifying this particular example as a thief, scoundrel and despot, may I refer you to almost all recent press dispatches and most particularly to two late *Time* magazine articles—of Sept. 12 and Oct. 17). . . . By the act you perform on Nov. 5, you will transform a Columbia degree into something of the same intrinsic worth as the feather headdress and title of Indian chief presented to every cheap politician on a tour of the West.

"I cannot contain myself from conveying my sense of shame to you for what has been perpetrated—shame, that there are elements in the U. S. government capable of suggesting that Columbia University, no less, compromise her honor by so honoring a contemptible nonentity, and deeper shame that she should, through you, lend herself so readily to this degradation."

Adam Brand Jr.

Castillo was also given a degree by Fordham University and a medal from the Mayor of New York. Ed.

Broomstick birthday

PORTLAND, ORE.

Had a big, bang-up Hallowe'en Party, the noise of which certainly must have sent all the witch-hunters off on their broomsticks. We honored the GUARDIAN's eighth birthday and the pleased readers were happy to be bled of the enclosed $60. Favorite comment of the evening was "Why don't we do this more often?" So we will! Good luck to your birthday and may you have many more. **B. D.**

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

Israel and the Arabs

PARIS, FRANCE

Your paper of Oct. 31 just arrived and I see three letters attacking Ursula Wassermann's article on Israel. If Israel is so progressive, why does Premier [now Foreign Minister] Sharett hint at a "preventive war?" In fact, Israel, through the United Jewish Appeal set-up, is controlled by Wall St. (ref.: A. B. McGill, Israel in Crisis). Did the UJA and affiliated organizations ever come to the defense of the Rosenbergs? They are willing enough to push Israel into fighting Egypt and Syria—a la "poor little Finland"—when these Arab countries refuse to join the Wall St. military aggression against the Soviet Union.

The truth is only one policy will solve the problem: Jewish-Arab friendship. As it is hanging from American imperialism, living off a dole passed out by UJA and company, instructed to hate Arabs, Israel can only end in disaster.

Bandung forms the political basis for Arab-Israel friendship. Let Israel seize the opportunity.

Morris Cohen

Compulsory testimony

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Thank you for your helpful coverage of my case. In connection with the fight which I feel must be waged against the attack on civil liberties and the Constitution embodied in the Compulsory Testimony Act, I have sent out the following letter to persons who, because of political persecution, have been forced to use the protection of the Fifth Amendment. Naturally I could locate only a few of them. I would like to reach more. I would appreciate it if you could reprint the letter in your columns.

"You are probably aware that a year ago Congress passed a Compulsory Testimony Act. In effect, this act is a major step in eliminating the right to silence guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. If the Compulsory Testimony Act is upheld by the Supreme Court, Brownell will have a free hand in confronting victims of the witch-hunt with three perilous alternatives: to do his bidding and bear false witness against others; to give testimony under oath in conflict with that elicited from informers and thus invite a perjury indictment; or to avoid both of those traps by refusing to answer, and go to jail for contempt.

"The Justice Dept. has brought two test cases of this act—Ullmann and myself. It is significant that we two were selected, because in both cases there is a pretense of a charge of espionage. Brownell very probably believes that it will be easier to establish the Compulsory Testimony Act in a phony spy investigation than in the case of a teacher, union leader, librarian or actor. However, once the precedent is set, the door will be open for a wide assault on all victims of the witch-hunt, and new ones too. Jailing a large number of Fifth Amendment users will, they think, add mightily to the Republican campaign in the 1956 Presidential elections.

"I have chosen to challenge the constitutionality of the Act. Moreover, I have been fighting back, accusing my accusers. I will be glad to send a full summary of my case to anyone writing for it. Room 930, 342 Madison Av., New York 17. Perhaps you too agree that it is better to fight back now than to wait until the Constitution has been mangled by such laws as the Compulsory Testimony Act.

"Please write me and let me know." **E. J. Fitzgerald**

Man-on-the-street

CHICAGO, ILL.

Whatever brought it about, it is clear that Secy. of State Dulles' 13-point proposal for closer contact between the American and Soviet people is something we can all endorse. The idea of open exchange on the airways is especially appealing after looking at the recent NBC telecast by correspondent Irving R. Levine in the Soviet Union.

Levine included three man-on-the street interviews filmed in Moscow. Why not make such interviews a regular weekly feature—both ways?

The Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship has written to our local TV stations, the networks, the state Dept. and Radio Moscow in support of this idea. We are sure many GUARDIAN readers will want to do the same.

Leroy Wolins, Admin. Secy.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 8, No. 5 178 NOVEMBER 21, 1955

REPORT TO READERS

Bundles for Belfrage

THE EDITOR-IN-RESIDENCE, along with all GUARDIAN subscribers-in-residence here, there and everywhere, got (or should have got) a special letter this past week from our Editor-in-Exile, Mr. Cedric Belfrage of London, England.

He writes of certain hopes in anticipation of entering his second half-century of life and, British boat mail being what it is, he is already well along in said second half-century as his letter arrives. But this is a small matter; what he proposes is the important matter, and we reprint the gist of it here for the benefit of those readers whom we can't reach by mail.

BELFRAGE WRITING: ". . . not only to thank you for fighting to prevent my exile, but to ask you—now that this is an accomplished fact—to follow up in a simple way: by building the GUARDIAN into twice as potent a weapon for justice as it has already been in its seven tough, exciting years.

"Just because I am physically removed from the fight, I ask you to make your simple contribution to this Bundles for Belfrage movement:

"November 8 is [was.—Ed-in-Res.] my birthday, on which I go into my second half century—not out, as we say in England's national game. Will you assign yourself to send me as a half-century send-off present, the subscription of ONE new GUARDIAN reader?

"You have been asked to do this before, and perhaps—in the fury of the cold war through which we have passed together—the reward of your efforts was discouraging. But a new time with new and exciting possibilities has come. Americans drugged by propaganda slowly awaken to the fact that the world is one; that its people must either become good neighbors or become extinct.

"They are ready to look for the truth behind the lies, and when they look they will be ready to cleanse America of its shame—the continuing cold war at home even as the cold war fades on the world stage.

"THE GUARDIAN IS A MIRROR which must be handed to America to look at itself, that it may once again take pride in its traditions before humanity.

"A concerted effort now by all GUARDIAN readers would add tens of thousands of active fighters to the good cause, and double and redouble the GUARDIAN's effectiveness in serving that cause. . . .

"Will you, by enlisting in the Bundles for Belfrage drive, help make the future better for us all and your editor-in-exile's half-century birthday the happiest in his life?"

YOUR BUNDLE FOR BELFRAGE can be a new sub or several, your "Buck a Month" pledge for '56 or an immediate, much-needed contribution (or all three!) The need is greater than you think. We haven't flown the distress signals as often as we should have, perhaps, because so many other causes have required immediate help. Hence we are now faced with an accumulation of unmet obligations. A wholesale response to our Editor's letter-from-exile will be a welcome help, for now and the future.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS

Magsaysay on shaky ground as nation's economy sags

ON NOV. 8, Filipinos voted to elect nine Senators, 52 governors and a host of lesser officials. Public attention centered on the re-election fight of Sen. Claro M. Recto, administration critic and former member of President Magsaysay's ruling Nationalist Party.

Recto supported Magsaysay for President in 1953, but became increasingly hostile to the administration's pro-U.S. policy. Since Magsaysay hand-picked his party's candidates and snubbed Recto, the latter ran as a "guest" candidate of the opposition Liberal Party.

NOT VERY SECURE: Although Magsaysay's candidates were reported to be scoring an impressive victory, and Recto was running sixth among the nine victors, these facts gave rise to doubts that the Nationalist success at the polls reflected genuine popular support:

- Violence punctuated the campaign. Police reports of 36 dead and 112 wounded were placed much higher by the Manila press. N.Y. **Times** correspondent Robert Alden reported (11/9) such "inequities" as "ballot boxes that mysteriously disappeared, strong-arm men who terrorized voters. . . ."
- The N.Y. **Post** (11/9) said one reason why the U.S. delegation grimly continued its unpopular fight to elect the Philippines to the UN Security Council was its desire not "to do anything at the UN that might harm the ticket of President Magsaysay." The **Post** said Dulles might review the UN deadlock since "elections in the Philippines are now over."
- The Catholic Church was reported (**NYT,** 11/8) to be "playing an increasingly active political role" in the elections. Church leaders were highly critical of Recto.

SAGGING ECONOMY: In its two years of rule the Magsaysay government has done little to merit popular support. A land reform law was recently passed but it still remains to be seen whether it was an election maneuver. Peasants are as sorely exploited by landowners as ever. Over 20% of the working population is unemployed. The standard of living is appallingly low.

The economic situation has grown steadily worse. The Philippines still maintains a colonial, agricultural economy, exporting sugar and copra and importing industrial and consumer goods, trading mostly with the U.S. In its overseas trade the country "is found to be chronically in the red" (**NYT,** 4/10); last year, U.S. exports to the Philippines were valued at $324,300,000, compared with $260,300,000 in imports.

AMERICAN COLONY STILL: Two months ago the government revised the Philippines-U.S. trade pact, pledging

> ". . . equal treatment for nationals of both countries to use and develop natural resources and operate public utilities . . . in either country."

This hands over the Philippine economy to U.S. investors, since Filipino capital can hardly hope to compete with American.

Washington maintains effective military control over the Philippines through a 1947 agreement granting the U.S. use of 22 installations for 99 years. Magsaysay said last summer that his country needed still "more American military bases to safeguard the nation's security" (**UP,** 7/11).

Meanwhile, prodded by the Manila **Chronicle,** government investigators found that on the naval reservation on Subic Bay—50 miles from Manila—U.S. Navy officials were subjecting villagers to "outdated and excessive taxes," generally discriminating against them and usrping the "functions and prerogatives of the Philippine government" (**NYT,** 7/12).

The Philippines today bears little resemblance to the much-touted "showcase of democracy in the Far East."

United Nations photo

A FILIPINO VILLAGE POTTER'S WIFE WITH NEWLY-MADE POTTERY

It is baked by the old method of open-firing with rice straw

Check GBS for GIFTS

JIMCROW OUTLAWED IN PARKS, POOLS, LINKS

'Separate but equal' doctrine is wiped out

By Eugene Gordon

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT on Nov. 7 unanimously barred jimcrow from public parks, playgrounds, bathhouses, beaches and public golf links. Thus it legally wiped out the last remnants of a doctrine established by that same court in 1896.

The 50-year-old doctrine held that segregation was constitutional when whites and Negroes were provided "separate but equal" facilities. The NAACP suit which resulted in the anti-jimcrow public school decision of May 17, 1954, attacked the basic concept of the "separate but equal" doctrine.

The U.S. Court of Appeals in Richmond, Va., ruled last year that because the Supreme Court had killed the "separate but equal" doctrine when it outlawed jimcrow public schools, the state of Maryland and the city of Baltimore were illegally applying it at public bathhouses and beaches. City and state petitioned the Supreme Court to overturn the Appeals Court ruling.

"JUDGMENT AFFIRMED": The petition declared:

> ". . . The city and state have reasoned cause to believe that consequences undesirable to both Negro and white citizens may arise out of integrated recreational facilities."

Submitting a motion to affirm, the NAACP asked that the Appeals Court ruling be affirmed. The Supreme Court's opinion last week said: "The motion to affirm is granted and the judgment is affirmed."

The court also upset decisions by the U.S. District Court of Atlanta, Ga., and the U.S. Circuit Court of New Orleans, which had decreed that "separate but equal" golf links for whites and non-whites was not segregation.

In neither case did the Supreme Court issue instructions as to how its rulings were to be enforced. Presumably it was leaving that up to the lower Federal courts, as it did in the school case.

THE REACTION: Atlanta refused to reveal its next move, and New Orleans was silent; but Georgia's former Governor, Herman Talmadge, suggested that the city sell "these [public golf] facilities to private individuals at its discretion." The facilities could be "sold" to the Lions, the Kiwanians, or to some other private club, for as little as $1 each, and continued "for white people only." Federal laws do not encompass such "private" enterprises.

Georgia's Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook saw the Supreme Court opinion as "designed to further [the court's] program to force intermarriage." Golf-enthusiasts H. M. Holmes and his two sons, (the Negro plaintiffs) saw in it merely a long-desired chance to play golf. Dr. Holmes, a physician, told **AP:**

> "We know that it is right that we should be allowed to play on the city courses as taxpaying citizens. We understand the game of golf and understand the courtesies of the game. You can be sure we will do what is right."

MARYLAND BOWS: S. Carolina's Gov. George B. Timmerman Jr. vowed there would be "no mixing of the races in our state parks"; he said he would close them first. Birmingham's City Commissioner Wade Bradley thought "intermingling definitely would lead to bloodshed"; therefore, he would not permit recreational mixing. But Virginia's Atty. Gen. Lindsay Almond Jr. frankly admitted that jimcrow in his state's public parks was done for.

Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland said officials of that state

> ". . . have never to my knowledge questioned the supremacy of the law of the U.S. Constitution or the interpretation of that document by the Supreme Court [and] I see no reason to do so now."

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (11/9) found McKeldin's comment "refreshing." It said:

> "Progress is along the lines the Supreme Court has marked out; and it is not to be thought of that the whole country, North and South, will fail to find the way of going forward together."

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PUBLIC INVITED

Hearings on revising Walter-McCarran Act

INDIVIDUALS, groups and organizations were invited last week to apply immediately for permission to testify at public hearings on revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration & Nationality Act of 1952. Conducted by Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D-W. Va.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration & Naturalization, the hearings will be held in Washington on Nov. 21-22, Nov. 28 through Dec. 2, and possibly through the week beginning Dec. 5.

Sen. Kilgore announced that the basic question to be considered is "what immigration and naturalization policies are best for the U.S. today?" Three major Senate bills to amend the McCarran-Walter Act in whole or in part will be up for consideration.

Organizations which cannot be represented by witnesses are invited to apply for permission to file statements for the printed record. Full information on the hearings may be had from the Subcommittee, Room 449-B, Senate Office Bldg., Washington 25, D.C. (Telephone: NAtional 8-3120, Ext. 1618).

PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS IN THE 1956 RACE—II

This is Averell Harriman—the coldest warrior of them all

By Elmer Bendiner

IN JULY, 1945, Secy. of the Navy James Forrestal entered in his diary a note on a phantom that was to drive him to his death and bedevil the nation:

"Averell was very gloomy about the influx of Russia into Europe. . . . He said the greatest crime of Hitler's was that his actions had resulted in opening the gates of Eastern Europe to Asia. . . . [Averell] said the outward thrust of communism was not dead. . . ."

On May 22, 1949, Forrestal leaped from the 13th floor of a hospital, pursued by the cold-war bugaboo—and William Averell Harriman was its herald.

At the founding session of the United Nations in San Francisco, Harriman, then Ambassador to Moscow, gave a dozen newsmen an off-the-record conference in which he described "irreconcilable" differences with the Russians in such violent terms that at least two reporters openly expressed their indignation.

THE NEW ROME: The cold war was Harriman's dish; he was eager for it. Looking back to the days when Churchill opened fire at Fulton, Mo., and Truman first enunciated his doctrine of hostility, Harriman wrote in **Foreign Affairs** (7/54):

"Those who had long and anxiously awaited such an historical turning will never forget the elation of those days in the Spring of 1947. To me the decision brought a sense of great relief."

The turn away from co-operation with the socialist world to defeat fascism was like a turn toward home for Harriman. In **Foreign Affairs,** he could talk again of the glories of empire:

"Not since the fall of Rome has one country so dominated the economy of the civilized world as does the United States today, and whereas Rome's dominion rested upon imperial control ours rests on sheer size. Ours is the master wheel of the world economic machine that determines the speed at which all others run."

BORN TO THE PURPLE: Being a master wheel comes easy to Harriman. He is the son of Edward P. Harriman who started with a pencil, a calculating head and some easy scruples—and ended with $100,000,000. Young Averell grew up in a 94-room palace in upper N. Y. State but has learned to live more austerely since then. He is now worth roughly $40,000,000, has limited his personal properties to 5,000 acres around Harriman, N. Y., and six houses, only one of which is big enough to accommodate easily the two bowling alleys he treasures for recreation. He is down to only one railroad, the Union Pacific, though he once controlled six others. The Union Pacific was always his favorite line. He gave it its dainty hostesses and built Sun Valley, Idaho, as a ski resort to attract passengers. He keeps his hand in other pies through his banking concern, Brown Bros. and Harriman.

Throughout his boyhood he worked hard at what lesser men thought were games. When he decided to make the crew at Groton, his father hired the Syracuse University coach to train him on the family's private lake. Later his father sent him to Oxford to brush up on his stroke. He took to croquet and won the Brooks Cup, became a three-goal polo player and regularly scored 200 at bowling. He attributed his success to two mottoes which he freely gave to newsmen:

"Persistence is the key. . . . It is the duty of everyone, rich or poor, to work."

In 1933 he sat with Pierre S. DuPont at New York's Metropolitan Club in what was described as "perhaps the most imposing aggregation of economic influence ever assembled." The tycoons had met to fix freight rates and assure nationwide control of the rails by eastern money.

Harriman's robber-baron heritage was watered down by his older sister Mary who scandalized the family by enrolling at plebeian Barnard College and engaging in consumers' movements with Frances Perkins, who later became F. D. R.'s Secy. of Labor. The rebel Mary persuaded Averell to join her in breaking the family's GOP tradition by voting for Al Smith in 1928. In 1933 she prodded him into public service and he became a member of the Business Advisory Council of the depression-born NRA.

WHICH TWIN HAS THE TONI?

Carmine DeSapio, N. Y. State Democratic chairman, is shown (l.) with his California counterpart Paul Ziffren in San Francisco. DeSapio was hunting delegates for Harriman.

THE SNOB: He returned to his railroads and banks in 1935, but five years later was back in Washington with the Natl. Defense Advisory Commission. From then on he worked as hard at his public career as he ever had at croquet. He went to England in 1941 as Lend-Lease administrator and quickly cultivated a Tory's-eye-view of the war against fascism. He spent weekends with Churchill at Chequers and took his first trip to Moscow with Lord Beaverbrook, learning how to endure being pleasant to the Russians.

In 1943 as Ambassador he moved into Spasso House in Moscow. He talked with Stalin almost monthly, drank tea with him, rode his horses and, he claims, scored debating points with him. At the war's end he was in on every major conference with the Russians. In 1950, recalling those Moscow years, Harriman remarked to his aide, Alfred Friendly, that he considered "the Kremlin leaders—and the Russians as a whole—to be barbarians."

Harriman was the busiest of Truman's cold warriors. He replaced Henry Wallace as Secy. of Commerce when Wallace was fired for taking public issue with the Truman Doctrine, and served as director of the Marshall Plan and Mutual Security. He flew to Iran when the Iranians threatened to choose freedom and helped to forestall that catastrophe. When the Korean War broke he visited the front as Truman's representative and championed the intervention without reservation.

THE TIMBER: He was well received at the White House and aboard the yacht Williamsburg and at the Key West Club, where Truman relaxed, though Harriman failed to meet the requirements at poker. (He prefers bridge, backgammon and bezique.)

Harriman was first called "Presidential timber" in 1938, but the significance of that bid was dimmed by the coincidence that it was made by the president of the Union Pacific R. R. while Harriman was chairman of the board. After that no one considered Harriman a vote-getter until 1952 when he tried for the Presidential nomination as an "unreconstructed New Dealer." The Americans for Democratic Action and a number of labor leaders backed him, forgiving him for urging Truman not to veto Taft-Hartley. They found in his cold-war, arms-boom policy a perverse reason for supporting him.

He lost the nomination, but two years later captured his first elective office, the governorship of New York. A less dogged croquet player might have been disheartened by his hair's-breadth margin of victory; a less ambitious man would have settled down happily in the Governor's mansion. To Harriman it was like starting from the bottom.

Marie Norton Whitney Harriman (the Governor's second wife and an ex-wife of Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney) laughed when Averell was first proposed for Governor. She said: "Can you imagine me sitting in Albany milking cows?"

THE NEW DEWEY: The Harrimans' first year was no rustic idyll. The swearing-in ceremony glittered with national figures, veteran speech-writers and press secretaries. It looked like a mobilization for the drive on Washington.

Harriman made Tammany boss Carmine DeSapio Secy. of State, which seemed only fair since DeSapio was credited with making him Governor. Along with routine appointments he made one outstandingly good one—Charles Abrams as Housing Commissioner—and balanced it by naming Myles Lane, prosecutor of Smith Act victims and the Rosenbergs, to head a state-wide "loyalty" witch-hunt.

His first legislative message brought this comment from the N. Y. **Daily News:**

"We were surprised by the documentary, calm . . . quality, and lack of New-Fair Deal proposals . . . spoken almost like a Republican."

Harriman's first year fulfilled the promise of that message. Though he had the support of labor leaders and the city machines, and though some progressives sacrificed the American Labor Party's ballot status to support him—instead of the ALP candidate John T. McManus—as a means of defeating "Deweyism," there was little change from the Dewey years. The city appealed for more state aid and got nowhere; the school crisis went unchecked.

LABOR AND POLITICS: In the early days Harriman admitted the Hatters Union chief Alex Rose, the Garment Workers' David Dubinsky and the Liberal Party's strategist Arthur Schlesinger Jr. to his councils. But little was heard from them as the year wore on. Harriman finally broke with the ADA, preferring the DeSapio regulars.

The state's most glaring labor scandal, the bi-state Waterfront Commission, formed by Dewey to break the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn., was perpetuated. When the ILA pleaded for a hearing before it went on strike Harriman neatly lined up a bi-partisan deal to turn them down. For most of the year Harriman erased from his memory the claim of ILA president Capt. Bradley that the longshore anti-Dewey votes had won the election for him. This month, preparing for another election, Harriman recalled it. He thought that Commissioner Lt. Gen. Hays, long hated on the piers, lacked an understanding of the "human problems" on the waterfront and asked for his resignation. In his place Harriman put his 1954 campaign manager John P. McGrath.

DEATH AND POLITICS: Harriman's civil liberties record as Governor is bleak. When three young Puerto Ricans (two of them still in their 'teens) were sentenced to death for a crime they denied committing, Harriman made a "compromise" decision. He commuted the sentence of one to life imprisonment, sent another to a mental institution with the understanding that if he should ever be found sane he would face death; and sent the third, 18, to the electric chair.

When Willie Reid, a Negro refugee from a Georgia chain gang was found in New York, Harriman quickly signed an extradition warrant without granting him a hearing. The case was taken to court and now awaits the Governor's reconsideration.

POWER AND POLITICS: A power scandal broke in Harriman's first year when his State Power Authority chairman Robert Moses tried to rush through a contract with the Aluminum Co. of America, giving it power from the St. Lawrence and Niagara at cheap prices and with top priorities until the year 2003.

The deal reminded some of an earlier effort by Harriman noted in the **Secret Diary** of Harold L. Ickes. In February, 1941, Ickes noted, the Defense Commission had sent Harriman to him to lobby for more power from Bonneville for ALCOA which, Ickes feared, would give the company "a virtual monopoly." Ickes told his diary:

"I remarked that there was some crooked work somewhere and that I wanted to look into it. . . . This is a confirmation that the Defense Commission is doing all it can to favor its big-business friends."

THE GENIUS: Albany formally became a campaign headquarters last month at a Democratic party pep rally. Truman pronounced Harriman a "genius" and declared that if he were a New Yorker he would vote for Harriman. DeSapio then took off on a western swing. The Governor, himself, who up to then had always said: "I'm for Stevenson," announced that such declarations did not mean he was "morally bound" to support Stevenson. He then went on a hand-shaking tour of the state's southern tier.

Harriman's appeal to Democratic bosses lies in his party regularity (guaranteed by DeSapio); his ability to capture left-wing fancies while running with the right, and his money. Harriman is not as strong as Stevenson in the South (where Harriman looks like a radical); and to westerners he may represent Eastern big money; but if the big city machines can be swung behind him the South and West may not feel sufficiently offended by Harriman to bolt.

He has taken some liberal stands on, for example 90% parity prices for farmers and repeal of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act. He is undoubtedly capable of promising labor a good deal, but some voters keep pasted in their hats a confession Harriman made shortly after his election as Governor:

"It is utterly impossible for a candidate to live up to all conditions of a platform because it contains planks that are often contradictory."

MUSICIANS, FARMERS, SKATERS, WRITERS, JUDGES—AND LOTS MORE

Dollar curtain lifts on a dazzling exchange

By Kumar Goshal

THE GENEVA SPIRIT has lifted the dollar curtain a little, making possible a U.S.-Soviet cultural exchange for the first time since World War II.

Such exchanges have become almost commonplace in Europe and Asia during the last two years. During the last few months, for example, Indian musicians and dancers, the Boy Choir of Leipzig, the Berlin Orchestra, a group of Greek singers and actors, British musicians, Brazilian, Chinese and Vietnamese dancers and musicians were widely acclaimed in the Soviet Union. Pianist Gilels, violinist Oistrakh and other Soviet artists, writers and actors have become familiar performers in European countries.

UNCURTAINED TV: Moscow and London recently started a successful exchange of television productions. Moscow has already televised Shaw's **Pygmalion,** Shakespeare's **Much Ado About Nothing,** and Sheridan's **The School for Scandal;** in return, it sent Britain a Shakespearean program performed by non-Russian Soviet national groups as well as by Moscow artists. Britain televises Soviet children's programs, music and dancing, and plans are being made for an exchange of British-Soviet news telecasts. The U.S.S.R. entertained 10,000 guests (including journalists and diplomats) from 90 countries last year; this year's figures are expected to be much higher.

Delegations of Soviet farmers, housing experts and journalists have toured the U.S., making cordial and abiding human contacts between the peoples of the two countries. Soviet pianist Emil Gilels has been receiving unqualified praise from American music critics and unanimous popular acclaim during his current U.S. tour. Tickets for violinist David Oistrakh's Carnegie Hall concerts were sold out long before his arrival.

MATCHING DAZZLES: If present plans go through, Americans may hear in person such Soviet composers as Shostakovich, Khrennikov, Kabalevsky and Gliere, see the fabulous prima ballerina Galina Ulanova and the 200-member Moscow Bolshoi Theatre ballet troupe. Moscow offered to send Ulanova and the ballet at its own expense; but the U.S. State Dept. was reported hesitant

"...to accept, because it doesn't know whether the U.S. can afford to match this dazzling cultural offer..." (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 9/30).

To overcome the State Dept.'s hesitancy—Soviet artists and delegations cannot visit the U.S. without State and Justice Dept. clearance—Ulanova was reported willing to reduce the ballet troupe to 50 members, and still assure a varied program. Negotiations are going on to exchange art shows in American and Soviet museums.

The Soviet Union has opened its doors wide to U.S. congressmen, journalists, churchmen, scientists and plain tourists. Washington has admitted it is swamped with requests for permission to visit Russia. Twenty-eight congressmen have traveled widely in the U.S.S.R. this year, without any restrictions. Congressmen have been so eager to have a look at the Soviet Union that N.Y. **Times** correspondent Welles Hangen was moved to write (9/9):

"Moscow is not generally considered a summer resort, but it is fast becoming the year's prime tourist attraction for congressional visitors from the U.S."

There are more U.S. journalists in Moscow now than at any time since before World War II. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** has opened a permanent Moscow office, and William Worthy, who ably covered the Korean war and the Bandung conference, is Moscow correspondent for the Baltimore **Afro-American.**

Leading American churchmen recently visited the Soviet Union and reported finding full religious freedom there. A Quaker delegation, headed by Clarence E. Pickett, was agreeably surprised to find that Russians were willing "to discuss controversial subjects" in a "frank and uninhibited" manner.

PROFESSORS AND ICE SHOWS: Supreme Court Justice Wililam O. Douglas switched his usual itinerary from the Middle and Far East to Soviet Asia last summer. Prominent university professors conferred with their Soviet colleagues and broadcast over the Moscow radio. Harvard's authority on Soviet law, Prof. Harold Joseph Berman, two months ago lectured at Moscow's Vishinsky Institute of Law. The U.S. Army General Hospital's Thoracic Surgery Dept. head, Prof. Paul Schafer, recently spent a month as a guest of the Soviet Ministry of Health.

Three Soviet medical specialists recently attended a conference on antibiotics in New York, and a leading Russian physicist took part in a discussion on applied solar energy in Phoenix, Ariz. The U.S.S.R. has agreed to exchange medical films, books and periodicals of all kinds with American groups. A Harvard Univ. representative in Moscow recently arranged exchanges between major American and Soviet research institutes. Without fanfare, Russian theaters are now showing American newsreels.

Sonja Henie last month displayed her ice show in the U.S.S.R. at Moscow's invitation. Violinist Yehudi Menuhin, contralto Marian Anderson and the Boston Symphony Orchestra are expected to follow soon. The Gershwin-Heyward opera **Porgy and Bess,** after touring Europe under State Dept. auspices, opens soon in Moscow, but Washington seems unable to send any American play with a mixed cast.

LIFT THAT CURTAIN: The Soviet Union, in fact, is expecting such an increase in foreign visitors that it is frantically trying to put up enough hotels to accommodate them. The curtain-parting has so caught the world's fancy that Secy. of State Dulles was obliged to announce at Geneva on Oct. 31 the elimination from U.S. passports of restrictions to travel to socialist countries with the exception of Bulgaria, Albania, China, N. Vietnam and N. Korea.

Dulles' announcement, however, has not restored to all Americans the right to travel; the State Dept. still retains the power to deny passports at its "discretion." Artist Rockwell Kent, for example, still is denied a passport, and Paul Robeson still cannot accept concert engagements offered to him all over the world. American public pressure will still be required to roll up the dollar curtain all the way.

JACK BENNY PLAYS FOR SEVEN VISITING SOVIET JOURNALISTS
Judging from their expressions he's in his usual bottom form

IT'S UNCONSTITUTIONAL IN WISCONSIN BUT...

Supreme Court ducks on Gwinn amendment; Nelson and McCarran Act test cases up

REP. RALPH W. GWINN, 71-year-old defender in Congress since 1944 of the more solid Republican virtues as understood in New York's plush Westchester County, is best known for an amendment he grafted on to the federal housing law in 1952. The Gwinn Amendment sets up political purity as a requirement for residence in housing projects aided by federal money. Since the Gwinn gimmick became law, some 250,000 project residents around the country have taken an oath that they have never belonged to an organization on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. A handful rebelled; they have been fighting in the courts against eviction ever since.

On Nov. 7 the first case involving the Gwinn Amendment reached the Supreme Court. It was a government appeal from a Wisconsin State Supreme Court ruling that the Gwinn Amendment violated both the Federal and State Constitutions and that federal low-rent housing tenants don't have to account for their politics before they can rent shelter.

THE OTHER 47: The Supreme Court ducked a clear-cut decision on the matter, but issued a brief order declining to review the case which let the Wisconsin court's ruling stand as the law. With similar cases pending in New York, New Jersey, California, Maryland and the State of Washington, this left local housing authorities in a quandary: did the Wisconsin ruling apply to them or didn't it?

In New York Warren Moscow, executive director of the city's housing authority, said the effect couldn't be determined without close study. In Washington there was less hesitation. On Nov. 8 Lawrence Davern, asst. gen. counsel for the Public Housing Administration, announced that the Gwinn Amendment will continue to be enforced in the remaining 47 states. People without legal training found it hard to understand why something unconstitutional in Wisconsin could still get you kicked out of house elsewhere.

It appeared that the other cases would have to keep grinding through the courts in an attempt to get a Supreme Court decision. In New York the Court of Appeals earlier this year declined to pass on the constitutional issues of the cases here, sent them back to the lower courts for decision on two minor points. They are now on appeal.

NELSON NEXT: The Supreme Court last week faced a heavy schedule, with arguments due on successive days in two of the key constitutional tests arising from cold-war panic. On Tues., Nov. 15, the Court was to hear the case of Steve Nelson against a 20-year sentence for violating Pensylvania's sedition law, and on the next day was to hear lawyers for the Communist Party in an attack on the constitutionality of the McCarran Internal Security Act.

Nelson's case was bolstered by a statement in his behalf signed by 227 well-known religious and educational leaders, lawyers, writers and others. Nelson's conviction under the state sedition law (after he was already under a five-year sentence under a Smith Act conviction) was reversed by the Pennsylvaia State Supreme Court on the major ground that federal legislation in that field superseded state laws. Pennsylvania's attorney general appealed that decision and was joined by the attorneys general of 27 other states with similar laws (a total of 42 states have some sort of "sedition" laws on the books, most of them adopted during the hysteria following World War I.

MULTIPLE JEOPARDY: Most state sedition laws have lain dormant since the Twenties, but currently some two-score persons in four other states are under attack under such statutes. On Nov. 4, 27 of these, from Florida, Kentucky, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the Nelson case.

Nelson is being defended by Victor Rabinowitz and Herbert L. Thatcher, prominent Washington labor attorney. The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court ruled that such state laws, side by side with Federal legislation, could result in multiple jeopardy.

McCARRAN ACT TEST: The attack on the McCarran Act is based specifically on an order by the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Communist Party, must, in effect, put itself out of business by registering with the Attorney General as a "communist-action" organization dominated by a foreign power. The Party's appeal is backed by friend-of-the-court briefs filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Natl. Lawyers Guild and 360 prominent citizens.

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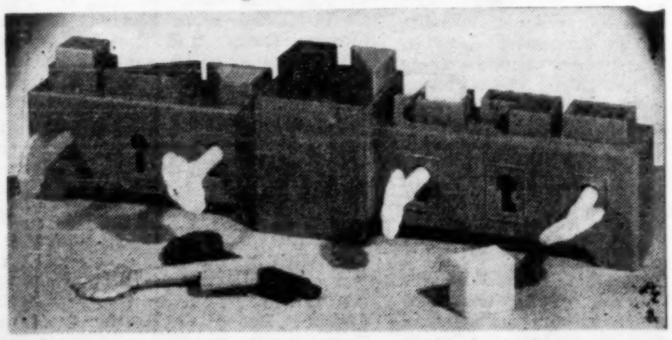

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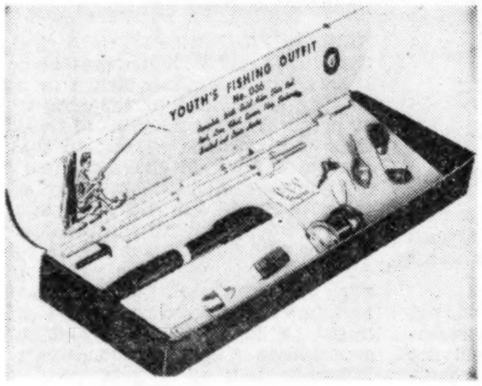

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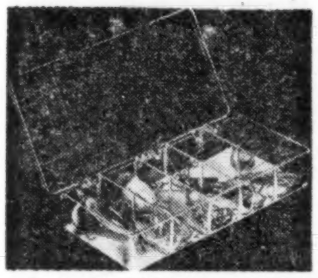

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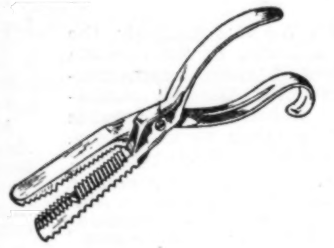

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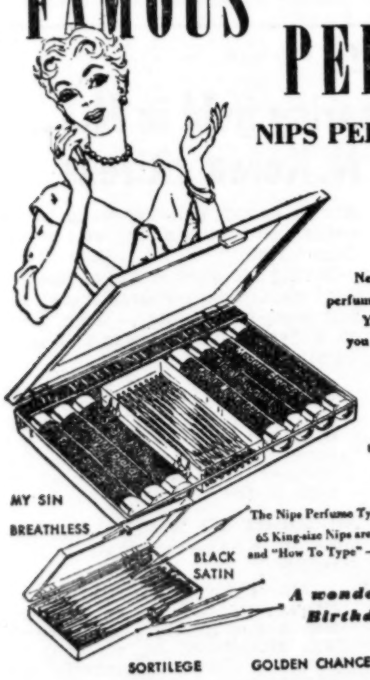

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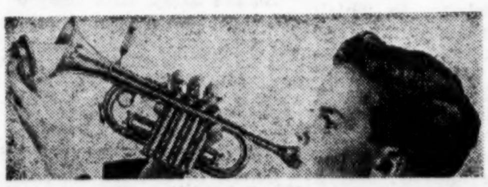

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War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

ed to "the alarming confusion" of the Western proposals, which, it said, are too blurred "to make sense to the Russians or anyone else." (The security treaty offered the U.S.S.R. would go into effect only after a reunified Germany has entered NATO, but the Western plan for "free elections" gives united Germany the right to choose its own path.)

Most significantly, all W. German political parties, with the exception of

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

DULLES IN MADRID

"It's been a pleasure to discuss with you the problems which affect the peace and security of the free peoples—Eviva!"

Chancellor Adenauer's, have found the West's stand at Geneva "too uncompromising on various issues" (**CSM,** 11/9). Social Democratic leader Erich Ollenhauer, while rejecting political negotiations with E. Germany, told Secy. Dulles the Big Four must create a legal framework within which the two Germanies could negotiate technical problems and that the U.S. must revise its stand on German participation in NATO. Interviewed by **Le Monde,** he said compromise was possible on the electoral laws of W. and E. Germany and that there could be no "free elections" until Germany's place in a European security system was defined. On a practical level, his stand was not too different from the Soviet proposal for an All-German Council to deal with common problems.

UNPREPARED: Even in the U.S. "cold war" myths were partially punctured. The Western foreign ministers went to Geneva, wrote Walter Lippmann (11/10),

> ". . . knowing that there was no chance whatever that the Soviet Union would accept their terms for the reunification of Germany."

Hence there was "no warrant" for their "pained surprise." Their "gigantic gamble" that time was on their side "has failed," he noted, and asked: Since they knew they could not succeed, "have they prepared themselves for what comes next?"

The answer appeared to be: No. As George Kennan, author of the "containment" myth, pointed out recently (Alsop brothers, 11/14), Western policy is

> ". . . without alternatives and without latitude for maneuver . . . the Western governments are . . . boxed in by walls of their own making."

The major Western effort concerning Geneva appeared to be to mislead public opinion. The Western charge that Molotov made German unification conditional on "communization" of Germany angered correspondents since press officers were pledged to give accurate, not tendentious, versions of statements. Molotov had said and implied nothing of the kind. He merely insisted, as Soviet spokesmen have before, that social and economic gains in E. Germany cannot be sacrificed in the reunification of the country.

THE PRICE OF RIGIDITY: The failure of the Western gamble on Germany has not prevented a similarly rigid stand on Far East problems. The U.S.-China talks at Geneva have long been stalled by U.S. insistence that until 17 Americans remaining in Chinese prisons are released no other question can be taken up. The N.Y. Times (11/11) conceded that "a large part of world opinion does not take seriously [this] U.S. contention."

Washington's determination to prevent new approaches in the Far East was made even clearer in the UN Political Committee's debate on Korea. A strong movement of Asian, Arab and socialist states to invite both Koreas to participate without vote was beaten down by the U.S. But the price was high: deepening of the rift between the Western powers and the independent countries of Asia and Africa. The alienation of the U.S. and India was striking. India's Krishna Menon characterized the U.S. stand (a repetition of all the Korean War myths) as designed

> ". .. not merely to raise the ghosts of the past but to throw this discussion . . . not only into a context unrealistic to our objectives . . . but . . . also . . . in such a way as though the U.S. delegation wanted to warn some of us to be on the alert that it was no use our having a constructive approach to this problem."

PLEAS FAIL: The U.S. assertion that an invitation to N. Korea was "unthinkable" was, said Menon, "extremely uncomplimentary to some of us," particularly to Syria which introduced the resolution inviting both sides. At another point, he felt compelled to remind the U.S., that "we are a sovereign power, and under no obligation to inform the U.S. of our plans."

The U.S. insisted that S. Korea (whose attacks on India and other UN members last year brought rebukes from the chair) must participate in all aspects of the Korean question, including discussion of the Report of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. Menon pointed out that such one-sided participation would be a violation of the armistice agreement, "illegal, improper, inequitable" and would "seriously compromise" his government, which headed the Commission. Publicly and privately, he appealed to the U.S. and Britain to amend the U.S. resolution to exclude S. Korean participation in this item. Both bluntly and publicly refused. Menon, forced to press the amendment himself, warned that a negative vote would be "an unfriendly attitude" in the view of his government. In face of this warning, Britain and Canada abstained. But the U.S. rallied its forces to defeat the Indian amendment: 27 against; 10 for; 21 abstentions. (This action came at a time when Washington is reportedly striving for a policy to win the "uncommitted nations" to its side.)

Drawing by Gabriel, London

LONG TIME NO SEE

ONE-SIDED CO-OPERATION: The U.S. demanded priority for its resolution, in an effort to prevent a vote on the Syrian resolution, and won it by what India called "a mockery of procedure." The U.S. resolution passed: 44 to 5, with 9 abstentions. But Syria, which had taken an outspoken part in the debate, insisted on a rollcall vote on its resolution. The result: 34 against; 14 for; 10 abstentions. (Last year, a similar Syrian resolution was defeated, 37 to 5; 16 abstentions.)

More significant than the votes was the temper of the debate, in which "cold war" protagonists were put on the defensive. Burma, Indonesia, India, together representing almost half a billion people, pointed to the lack of any sign of conciliation on the U.S. side. The U.S.S.R.'s Malik noted that on three key issues—election of a president, atoms for peace agency, and a resolution on atomic radiation—unanimous decisions had been reached as a result of Soviet concessions, but "the co-operation was one-sided." He warned that if cold war approaches are maintained, "the Korean problem will not budge one inch from its present position." This is precisely the U.S. aim, since it has no policy for settlement in Asia.

N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Return it to the museum and explain there's been a change of heart about defense cuts."

"UNDECLARED WAR": Similarly, the West refused to budge on the question of disarmament. Western representatives have prevented Assembly consideration of this problem on the grounds that it would be taken up at Geneva. When it was, the **NYT** (11/11) reported:

> "It was learned from the American delegation that the U.S. was not willing to plunge deeply into disarmament negotiations at this conference."

Therefore, the ministers could only agree to refer the question back to the UN Sub-Committee, set up in spring, 1954 as a Western effort to divert the worldwide outcry—following the Bikini H-bomb explosion—for an end to A and H bomb tests and a ban on use of such weapons.

Western refusal to call off what the Syrian delegation at UN called "this undeclared war against mankind" was also made bluntly clear in the Political Committee's discussion of the effects of atomic radiation. The U.S. brought this subject to the UN only, said **CSM** (10/31) "in order to fend off a possible world public opinion pile-up against further mid-Pacific tests." The U.S. proposed setting up of a UN committee to study (but not to evaluate internationally) radiation effects from peacetime uses of atomic energy. It maintained that the whole question of A and H bomb tests and their dangers to mankind was "out of order."

NEW POLICIES NEEDED: A demand that such tests be halted was made by India's Prime Minister Nehru in April, 1954; was included in the Soviet May 10 proposals; in resolutions of the Bandung and Colombo powers; in the appeal of the World Peace Council and of numerous scientists in many countries. But, said the U.S., the dangers have been exaggerated and the question belongs with disarmament. Syria pointed out that it would be years before agreement was reached on disarmament and in the meantime untold harm might be done to present and future generations. A Syrian-Indonesian resolution to halt such tests, pending a report of the committee, was defeated 36 to 17, with 6 abstentions,

> ". . . by a combination of Western power and Latin American votes, but not until it caused considerable concern to the U.S. and furnished neutralist nations with a large amount of pacifist propaganda" (**CSM,** 11/5).

Soviet and Indian amendments, designed to give the committee real functions and open its work to all states, were also beaten down. But a resolution of Latin American countries to enlarge the proposed 11-nation committee by inclusion of Mexico, Argentina, Egypt and Belgium, passed over U.S. and British opposition.

In the UN, as elsewhere, the slow process by which reality is overtaking illusion was underway. It could be accelerated if, as is possible, a substantial number of new members is admitted to UN this year. (Dulles and Molotov discussed this at Geneva but agreement has not yet been reached.) For Americans, the need for developing alternative policies was becoming ever more clearly a matter of the national interest.

FIGHT EXTRADITION TO DEATH

Kwak deportation hearing held in N.Y.; couple insist they're N. Korea citizens

FIGHTING for six years against U.S. efforts to deport them to S. Korea, Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak appeared for a hearing before Special Investigations Inquiry Official Joseph Mack on Nov. 14. As Korean patriots who have consistently opposed the Syngman Rhee regime, the Kwaks, who were cited by the U.S. government for their services during World War II, face certain persecution and possible death if they are handed over to Rhee.

In a prepared statement, which Mack did not allow them to read, the Kwaks requested "a reconsideration of the deportation order." They said in part:

> "We are citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. . . . Our disavowal of the S. Korean regime is a matter of official record.
>
> "We should not be **extradited** by the U.S. government to S. Korea to face trumped-up political charges in Rhee's kangaroo courts."

AFFIDAVITS OFFERED: Declaring that "decency and morality would require" that they "receive the same treatment" accorded to seven Americans interned in N. Korea and safely repatriated to the U.S. in mid-1953, the Kwaks asked that they be

> ". . . returned to the territory of our own government and not to the hands of our enemies. . . . We make this request because morality and humanity demand that we not be deported to a place where we would face certain physical persecution."

Attorney Ira Gollobin presented on behalf of the Kwaks numerous affidavits by well-known correspondents, clergymen, educators and former U.S. Army officers in Korea, testifying to Rhee's known persecution of all opponents and urging a stay of the Kwaks' deportation.

During his questioning of the Kwaks—which Gollobin characterized as unfair cross-examination—Mack demanded a "yes-or-no" answer to these two questions:

> (1) "Do you know to the best of your knowledge, was or is, the People's government of Korea affiliated with communism? (2) "Are you or have you at any time ever been a member of the Communist Party, here in the U.S. or anywhere else?"

NO RIGHT TO REPLY: To the first question, Kwak—supported by his wife—replied:

> "May I respectfully say that we are citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose government was established by the will of the people of Korea. We have no right to answer such questions to an alien."

To the second question, both the Kwaks and Gollobin replied that it was irrelevant. The hearing was adjourned for a week.

It was Joseph Mack who last year ruled against British Quaker Stuart Morris' entry into the U.S. to fulfill lecture engagements. The ruling was reversed later by court order.

A picket line in front of the Immigration and Naturalization Bldg., 63d St. and Columbus Av., handed out leaflets asking for letters of protest to Atty. Gen. Brownell.

GBS also means Good Buys at Savings

—See Pages 6-7

Sonnets, Books, Peace and Yuletide Time

THERE ARE PEOPLE in these United States who reach for a gun or whatever lethal weapon is handy when they hear the word **poetry**. There are others who confess that they just can't get interested in poems. Still others admit that poetry has its place, but they just don't read it.

ALL IN ALL, not an atmosphere in which any publisher welcomes poetry—which by and large, even among the wealthy commercial publishers, is regarded as a turkey. As a result, the American poet—in the real sense—is about as rare as the Rocky Mountain Bighorn Sheep.

RARE OR NOT, he exists, and about a year ago, The Blue Heron Press received a MS of 34 sonnets by Walter Lowenfels which put the problem directly to us. For we felt that here was a rare and noble sequence of poems—written by a brilliant man who was also a Smith Act victim—that demanded publication; but the market plus our poverty added up to an impossible problem.

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AND THOUGH we knew that the average sale of a book of poetry in the U. S. A. today is about four hundred copies, we felt that the content of these poems, their splendid and eloquent plea for peace and brotherhood, might just tip the scales.

WELL, that first edition sold out in a matter of weeks. We prepared five hundred more, and that too went in a few weeks. Then it was out of print for two months—and now, at last, we have another edition.

THE FIGURES are not large, but for a sequence of sonnets, they are almost unequaled in America of our time. In a small way, it made history.

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POLITICS

Election results: Was there a choice in your state?

By Lawrence Emery

TREND-SPOTTERS, who vastly outnumber poll-takers and other types of political predicters, last week were pretending to know the outcome of next year's election from the results of the Nov. 8 off-year balloting. The one clearly-established fact—that few people took the trouble to vote—didn't interfere with the identification of trends.

The two main trends were spotted immediately, even before all the votes were counted, by Carmine G. DeSapio, top Tammany man, and Leonard W. Hall, boss of the GOP national committee. For DeSapio the trend was toward an unmistakable portent of Democratic victory in 1956; for Hall it was toward a sure sign of a Republican victory next year.

DEMOCRATS ON TOP: Next day Republicans hedged a bit, found the results based on "purely local issues" with no "national significance." Democratic chief Paul M. Butler, however, found "definite evidence of dissatisfaction with the Republican Administration and its program," predicted his party would beat any candidate the Republicans could name, including Eisenhower.

Actually, the widely-scattered local contests for state, county, city and town posts didn't add up to enough for any long-range predicting, but on the score-board the Democrats outdid the Republicans.

NEW YORK: In New York City Democrats made a clean sweep. For the first time in history a Negro was elected to the Supreme Court, and a woman was elected for the first time to City Court. In upstate New York cities and towns, 15 mayoralty posts changed hands, with Democrats coming out with a net gain of one. Where Republicans won, they did it with slimmer margins than heretofore.

NEW JERSEY & CONN.: In New Jersey dents were made in Republican strongholds and Democrats picked up three seats in the State Senate but were still heavily outnumbered in both houses of the legislature. In Connecticut Democrats won mayoralty contests in two of the largest cities, retained control in three others.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia, to no one's surprise, gave a heavy plurality to Democrat Richardson Dilworth for mayor against a Republican personally endorsed by Eisenhower as "my candidate."

Long in Minneapolis Tribune
YEAH?

Any Republican would find Philadelphia tough going after 67 years of GOP corruption which ended with the incumbent Mayor Clark's victory in 1951. Dilworth shocked state Democratic leaders by agreeing with the Republicans that the issue was strictly city-wide without national or even state implications. The Wall St. Journal said that

> ". . . even if Mr. Eisenhower had been running this year, and had won by a landslide, he could not have saved the Republican candidate for mayor. It is hard to make an omen out of the Philadelphia story."

KENTUCKY: There was no surprise either in the overwhelming triumph of A. B. (Happy) Chandler as Governor of Kentucky over a Republican foe. But Chandler's victory couldn't be too satisfying to his party because he has in the past supported both Dixiecrat and Republican movements and still operates on the slogan, "I may often be wrong, but I'm never in doubt." As leader of his state's delegation to the Democratic Natl. Convention he could have a high nuisance value. But Chandler got a heavy vote in rural regions where he campaigned on a charge that a vote for his rival would be an endorsement of the program of Agriculture Secy. Benson.

INDIANA: Farm dissatisfaction also seemed apparent in Indiana where Democrats turned Republicans out of control in a whole series of industrial towns and rural area communities. The results in Indiana, always considered a safe Republican stronghold, were most upsetting to GOP chieftains.

OHIO: Labor got a setback in Ohio where the electorate turned down a proposed change in the state unemployment compensation law to permit auto workers to receive both state and company benefits during lay-offs. The CIO United Auto Workers' pacts with General Motors and Ford setting up the so-called supplementary unemployment benefit plan stipulated that it must be okayed in states employing two-thirds of the companies' workers. Ohio was a key state for putting the plan in effect June 1 next year. The change was opposed in a big-gun campaign backed by such corporate power as U. S. Steel; Sears, Roebuck; Montgomery Ward; Swift; General Electric, and the Pure Oil Co. Ford and GM both opposed the measure even though they had granted the contracts.

UAW spokesmen said the plan will still go into effect by the June 1 deadline because they are confident of getting agreement in enough other states to make up the qualifying two-thirds of employes. Rulings permitting the dual payment of benefits have already been made in five key states. GM employs workers in 20 states, Ford in 25.

HELEN SOBELL, shown above with her son Mark, 6, has appealed to have her husband Morton transferred from grim Alcatraz, where he is forbidden to see his children, to a regular Federal prison. Sobell was a fellow victim of the Rosenberg prosecution and has defended his innocence throughout. He has served five years of a 30-year sentence, three of those years in Alcatraz. The Classification Board of Alcatraz meets Nov. 25 in San Francisco. Helen Sobell's plea can be supported by letters addressed promptly to Classification Board, Alcatraz Prison, San Francisco, Calif.

This is White Supremacy's social order

A DEFENSE ATTORNEY at Sumner, Miss., called on the "Anglo-Saxon" jurors to acquit two men charged with murdering the 14-year-old Emmett Till, so that the social order of the South would be saved.

The U. S. census of 1950 reveals what kind of a social order it is that has to depend on murder of children to survive. Lowest incomes in the country, poorest schooling in the country, fewest libraries, worst housing and the poorest hospital facilities are protected by the terror for which Mississippi has become known. Government figures printed below show that the white working people and farmers of the state are almost as great sufferers as are the Negroes.

	MISS.	U. S.
Median income for workers	$1,073	$ 2,043
Median income for white workers	$1,576	$ 2,157
People with yearly incomes under $1,500	72%	40%
Average expenditure per pupil in Mississippi schools	$ 79.69 (Lowest in U. S.)	$208.83
Women having hospital care for childbirth	45.9%	88%
Public library expenditures per person	14c a yr. (Lowest in U. S.)	70c
Homes with hot running water, private toilets, baths	25.2% (Lowest in U. S.)	63.1%
Homes with mechanical refrigerators	46% (Lowest in U. S.)	80%

It would be bad enough if this situation affected only the people of one state. But it spills over to hurt the entire country. Economically, the people of Mississippi cannot buy the goods they should have, cutting down national production. Besides, they are an inducement to northern employers to take advantage of the low wage rates and lack of union organizing existing there.

—UE News

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—See Pages 6-7

CALENDAR

Chicago

DAVID OISTRAKH, top Soviet violinist. Orchestra Hall, Mon. eve., Nov. 28. Tues., Nov. 29. Choice seats from Chicago Amer.-Sov. Friendship, 189 W. Madison. An 3-1878. Boxes $6, main floor $5, balcony $4 and $3, gallery $2.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM sponsors a talk by **HARVEY O'CONNOR** on his book, "The Empire of Oil," Fri., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m., Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Donation.

Los Angeles

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Van Nuys, Calif.

BARROWS DUNHAM, author of "Man Against Myth," "Giant in Chains," speaks on **"NEW MYTHS AND OLD TRUTHS,"** Dec. 4, 8 p.m., Valley Unitarian-Universalist Church, 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys. Donation: $1.

San Francisco-Bay Area

RING THAT BELL (State of the Nation—1955). New Musical Smash Revue direct from Hollywood. Two north Calif. performances only, Sat. & Sun., Nov. 26, 27, at 8:15 p.m. Calif. Hall, Polk & Turk, S.F. Adm. $1.25 (Sun. Nite Spec. Rates: Students, 75; children under 12, 65c). "Funniest Show of the Year!" Tickets at 1408 Market, 321 Divisadero, 81 Clementina, 2475 Bancroft Way in Berkeley.

New York

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Production by **Phoebe Brand.**
Monday, November 21, 8:30 p.m., at Master Institute Theatre, 310 Riverside Dr., N.Y.C. (103d St.) Admission: $1.50. Tel.: UN 4-1700 for tickets & reserv. from 1 p.m. on.

SUNDAY FORUM, Nov. 20, 8:30 p.m. "Automation, Its Challenge to the Labor Movement," with Jack Green and CBS-TV film "Automation," prepared by Mass. Inst. of Technology. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"THE WAVE"** (1935), Nov. 19, opening the Third Annual Festival of International Film Classics. This simple story of the life of the fishermen of Vera Cruz is a cinema landmark for its photography and realism. Produced and photographed for the Mexican Government by the American, Paul Strand. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1. non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"THE FLESH IS WEAK"** (Italian, 1950).

Brooklyn

CROWN HGTS-BEDFORD GUARDIAN CLUB meeting Thurs. eve., Dec. 1, at the home of Dorothy Rostoker, 1030 Park Place (Apt. 3F, 6th floor) for GUARDIAN readers in postal zones 13, 16, 38.

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS GUARDIAN CLUB invites Brooklyn readers and their friends to a showing of three documentary films **Pledge for Peace** on the Bandung Conference; **Prime Minister Nehru's Tour of the USSR, and Music of India**, at the Towers Hotel, Dec. 2, 8 p.m. Commentary by Guardian editor **Kumar Goshal**. Films by courtesy of Indian Government's Information Service.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

CLASSIFIED

General

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- LEO HUBERMAN, co-editor *Monthly Review*
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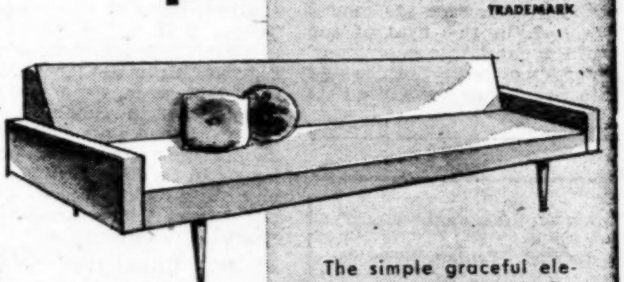

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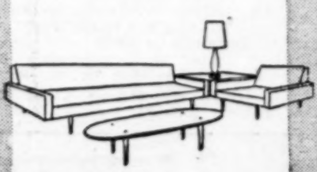

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LYNCHING AFTERMATH

2 who admitted kidnaping Till are freed by jury

A LEFLORE COUNTY, Miss., grand jury on Nov. 9 refused to indict white half-brothers Roy Bryant, 24, and J. W. Milam, 36, for kidnaping Emmett Till, 14-year-old Chicago Negro, from the home of his sharecropper uncle, Moses Wright, on Aug. 28. The boy had been accused of "wolf-whistling" at Byrant's wife.

Emmett's mutilated body, weighted with a 150-pound cotton-gin fan, was dragged from a river in Tallahatchie County three days later. Leflore County Sheriff George Smith told newsmen prior to the September murder trial of Bryant and Milam that they had admitted, on arrest, to kidnaping the boy, but denied killing him. Acquitted of murder, they were returned to Leflore County and released in $10,000 bond each on a kidnaping charge.

THE DISASTER: Leflore County Dist. Atty. Sanders publicly announced before the kidnap grand jury was selected that there might be Negroes on it. More than half the county's population is Negro. But none served on the jury. **The Christian Science Monitor** (11/1) observed, in anticipation of the verdict:

"White Southerners could understand why the Negroes of Tallahatchie County are not allowed to vote or serve on juries. And some could blame the whole thing on the Supreme Court or northern 'interference.' But few thoughtful Southerners would deny that the murderers of Emmett Till had, in the eyes of the world, made 'white supremacy' synonymous with violence and injustice. Many recognize that the case so far has greatly damaged the cause of states' rights.

"Moreover, many Southerners who (not unlike numerous Northerners) are set against social equality are ardent about equality in the courts. Indeed the Christian people of Mississippi must, we believe, be aware that a complete whitewash in the Till case would be a disaster."

CASE CLOSED? After Circuit Judge Arthur Jordan had read the grand jury's finding, he told reporters: "Gentlemen, in the case youall are interested in, there was a no bill returned." Dist. Atty. Sanders said that as far as the state of Mississippi was concerned the Till case was closed.

To the Negro people and their friends the two not-guilty verdicts have, rather than closed the case, started an unprecedented struggle for civil rights. While the kidnap grand jury was meeting on Monday at Greenwood, the NAACP 90 miles away at Jackson was closing a 3-day state conference. There, NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall had declared:

"Our democracy is too strong to permit Mississippi to continue to buck the entire United States. Mississippi must become part of the U. S. A. Black Mississippians as well as white Mississippians died for this state and country in two world wars. All of us have a stake in this democracy. . . . Indeed, justice is coming close to Mississippi, for it was in Memphis, Tenn., that a few weeks ago a federal judge ordered desegregation in the local college. And last week, even closer to Mississippi, in Hoxie, Ark., a judge issued an injunction supporting the local school board in its desegregation and enjoining White Citizens Councils from interfering with peaceful desegregation."

FIGHT GOES ON: NAACP board - of - directors member Judge Hubert Delany at Miami called on the FBI to investigate "such un-American activities as Southern terrorism based on race," while elsewhere throughout the country trade unions, churches, fraternal bodies and individuals, roused by the Mississippi lynching, moved against racism in the U. S.

Illinois Gov. William G. Stratton, who wired Miss. Gov. Hugh White as soon as Emmett Till's kidnaping became known, sent this message late last week to Atty. Gen. Brownell:

"It now appears that those responsible for this tragic crime are not being brought to justice. . . . I feel it my duty to respectfully request the U. S. government . . . to investigate the violation of rights of this Illinois citizen in another state."

The American Civil Liberties Union pledged that it "and others will, as one step toward [equality for all Americans], continue to press for changes in the federal civil rights laws which will enable the federal government to take more direct action in protection of minority groups rights."

INDIAN ART

Woodcuts of Chittaprasod

TRUE MASTERY of the deceptively simple woodcut has been seen recently only in Mexico and China. Now it appears freshly in the work of Chittaprasod, a young progressive artist of India. Ten of his woodcuts are reproduced in the GUARDIAN Buying Service portfolio described on page 7. New Yorkers can see these and other woodcuts by Chittaprasod along with gouache and watercolor paintings by K. Sreenivasulu at New India House, 3 E. 46th St., through Nov. 25.

These Indian works recall Mexican paintings; both have been enriched by the affirmation and transformation of a folk heritage. All have content relating to a great artistic tradition re-fashioned by revolutionary change. Traditional form and contemporary incident are fused in spontaneous expressions. Especially refreshing to viewers bored by the abstraction and dullness of "modern" art, there is human sentiment, liveliness and humor. The Indians' slogan of "back to the villages" has evidently meant back to life, to a living audience and to inspiration.

—**Robert Joyce**

B'KLYN, DEC. 2

Goshal & films at NG forum

THREE short films—**Pledge for Peace,** covering the Bandung Conference; **Prime Minister Nehru's Tour of the U. S. S. R.** and **Music of India**—will be shown Friday evening, Dec. 2, at the Towers Hotel by the Brooklyn Heights Guardian Club, with a commentary by GUARDIAN editor Kumar Goshal.

The films are Indian Government documentaries made available here by the Indian Information Service. They have been enthusiastically received by large audiences at previous showings. Brooklyn GUARDIAN readers are invited to bring their friends.

GBS means Guardian Buying Service

the SPECTATOR

The man who always sang

FROM YELLOWED PHOTO ALBUMS, long-treasured correspondence and recollections of readers of Barrie Stavis' play and notes, **The Man Who Never Died** (Haven Press, 1954), a new wealth of material on labor's songster-martyr Joe Hill has come to light 40 years after his execution by a Utah firing squad on Nov. 19, 1915, on a framed-up murder charge.

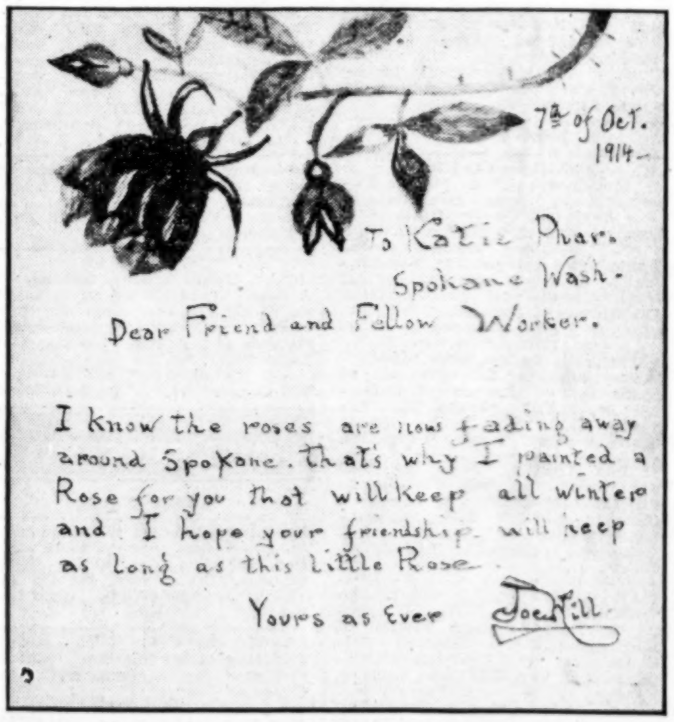
The chief purport of the material is to authenticate in great detail a career which researchers before Stavis had dismissed as largely mythical. A delighting dividend is the resulting personalization of the "jawsmith" (organizer) killed at the demand of the copper bosses at the height of the IWW organizing drive among Utah's miners.

Stavis has collected many of his new finds through voluminous correspondence in preparation for a new edition of a Joe Hill songbook. Some of it is reflected in his script for the People's Artists 40th Anniversary Memorial for Joe Hill, Saturday, Nov. 19, at the Pythian, 135 W. 70th St., N. Y.

THE COLLECTION NOW CONTAINS, for example, a letter from Joe Hill's sister, Mrs. Ester Dahl—still living and working as the telephone operator in Tannas, Sweden. From the church records of Gavle, a Swedish harbor town, a priest sent the record of Joe Hill's birth—as Joel Emanuel Hagglund, son of Olaf and Margretha Cathrina, Oct. 7, 1879. Living among a widower's memories in a garden-surrounded cabin at Will Creek, Calif., Reuben and Madeline Borough of Los Angeles found Constantino L. Filigno, husband of Virginia Snow Stephen, who lost her Utah University post in the fight for Joe Hill's life. Two jawsmiths who worked with Joe in San Pedro, Sam Murray and Frank Lefferts, are alive and in their 80's—Lefferts' letter beginning: "Dear Comrade and Fellow Worker for peace, socialism, one world and Scott Nearing for the Am. Lenin. . . ."

Joe's own letters from Salt Lake City jail are treasured by many people now living, most notably Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Hill's original "Rebel Girl" who at 65 is now in jail as a Smith Act violator. Of the letters most newly come to light, those to 15-year old Katie Phar of Spokane reflect the tenderness and humanity of the man they killed as a murderer.

KATIE SANG JOE'S SONGS at labor gatherings and wrote him chatty letters in jail. His replies were invariably illustrated with flowers (see illustration) in gay color; encouraging her



study of music ("when you know how to play music . . . you never need be lonesome") and commending her singing ("as long as we can keep on singing and keep the spirit up we are bound to win").

"I had to go to work at the age of ten," Joe wrote to Katie in December, 1914, "and I had no money for music lessons, but by trying hard I picked up what little I know about music. You see I've got music in the blood and it just comes natural to me to play any kind of an instrument."

And then, in February, 1915, he wrote:

"I got a lot of Valentines this week. . . . Last Sunday there was about 30 boys and girls here to see me and I believe I have more friends now than I ever had in my life."

The world legion of friends of Joe Hill today will welcome these newly-assembled facts about his life and spirit. Like brambles of the wild rose, they will arrest new generations to the thorny truth that the vine is hardy, and grows the stronger though its finest blooms may be cut down.

—**John T. McManus**

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